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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikū-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikū* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[3] The ceremonial

[3] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikū* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihíkū*. But this form does not exist.

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikũ* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikũ* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

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hiko's marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of course, separates *hikū* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the marriage of their children to one another. The *hikū* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he believes that his *hikū* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden.

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away.

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends.

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikū*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikū* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy.

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pakómá Kinsman (male or female) of my own phratry.
tcimá Cross-cousin of my own sex.
hitcimako Female cross-cousin (m.s.),[a] wife's sister.
hitcimakũ Male cross-cousin (w.s.),[b] husband's brother.
hipánimo Mother-in-law, father's sister (m.s., w.s.).
hipániyo Father-in-law, mother's brother (m.s., w.s.).
pani Generalized term for parent-in-law or child-in-law.
himanípako Wife (literally "my children's mother").
himanípakũ Husband (literally "my children's father").
tcumípako or *tcumípakũ* These are alternative terms for husband and wife with colloquial connotations.
kodjú Generalized term for members of a phratry into which one marries.
hikápenamu Husband's brother, sister's husband (w.s.).
hikápenamo Wife's sister, brother's wife (m.s.).
hikódjumana My sibling's spouse, a generalized term.
hikódjumu My sister's husband (m.s.).
hihãwũkimana My spouse's sibling.
hikópwimana Wife's brother in an exchange marriage.
hiwemu Husband's sister.
dyáko Reciprocal of *hiwemu*.
dya Any in-law of one's own generation.
kibũ Brother's son's wife.
hiwá Any relative (literally "my people").

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hikũnahu A very close friend.
hihwimu My male friend (w.s.).
djuré hwiyo[c] My female friend (m.s.).
hikũ Generalized term for male friend.
hiko Generalized term for female friend.
adjuré hwinomwa Ceremonial friendship between two women.

[a] Man speaking.
[b] Woman speaking.
[c] *Djuré* has the connotation of "sweetheart."

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622 627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious [673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman 622 627 574 614 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, together with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman himself, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party [182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 574 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive. 578 574 They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually 622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a ceremonial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission. 578 574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo, [572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no [614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy.

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments.

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself.

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica-

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their